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A

LETTER

To the Right Honourable

Robert Walpole, Esq; &c.

(Price One Shilling.)



A
LETTER

To the Right Honourable
Robert Walpole, Esq;

Occasioned by
His late Promotion
To the OFFICES of
First Lord of the Treasury,
AND

Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Wherein is contained, A *short View* of
the *Characters of the present Ministry,*
and of the *Wisdom and Justice* of their
Proceedings at *this Juncture.*

As also, a *State of the scandalous and trea-
sonable Practices* of the *Tory-Faction,* in
Parliament, and elsewhere; since *His*
Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne.

Together with
The *Characters* of their *Leaders* and chief
Managers; from the late D. of O——
down to Mr. H——

By a Member of the House of Commons.

L O N D O N,
Printed and Sold by J. Baker, at the *Black-
Boy* in *Pater-Noster-Row,* 1716.

A
LETTER

TO THE HONORABLE
ROBERT W. HARRIS

OF THE
U. S. SENATE

FROM
THE
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

WASHINGTON
D. C.
JANUARY 1877

My Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. M. [Signature]



A LETTER to the Right
Honourable ROBERT
WALPOLE, Esq; &c.

S I R,



Hough this comes from one, who has the Honour of your Acquaintance, and has for some Years been a *Witness* and *Admirer* of your *Behaviour in Parliament*; yet I assure you it is not intended to *flatter* you, or to *make court* to you, now you are *in Power*. For having no *Favour*, or *Place*, to ask, and designing to *conceal my Name*, I could have no end in flattering you, if I were *mean* enough to be guilty of it; and besides, I know any thing of that kind must create the highest *Indignation* in a *Person* of your *good Sense*.

B

You

You will please therefore to consider what is here said, as the *impartial Opinion* of one, who has had some Opportunity of *knowing Men*; and by his *Seat in Parliament*, could not but observe the *Principles and Views*, on which the *Leaders of the Two contending Parties* have acted, and by Consequence must know their *Characters*.

Perhaps it may be thought extraordinary, that I should pretend to give any Account of *publick Affairs* to a *Person*, who is himself engaged in the *Administration* of them, and who, by that means, must be better versed in all their *Circumstances*, than a *Man* who professes himself unpractised in *Business*, any otherwise than as a *Member of the House of Commons*. But I hope it will not be thought altogether *Impertinent*, when you consider, that notwithstanding we (who *live in the Country*) are *unacquainted* with the *Secret Counsels of the Cabinet*, yet we have however better Opportunities of understanding what Effect the *Administration of the Government* hath

hath on the Minds of the People, than you who are *concerned in it*. And since it is by *the good and bad Opinion of the People*, that *Ministers of State in this Island* must stand and fall, as much as by the *Approbation and Dislike of their Sovereign*; I think it is no *unfriendly*, or improper Office, in a *Well-wisher to his Country*, to tell you in this *nice Juncture*, and in telling you, to tell *other great Men*, who act in *concert* with you; what Figure you all make out of the *Cabinet and the Houses of Parliament*; what Satisfaction your *Proceedings* give to *those*, who are in Principle with you; and how your *Reputations and Characters* stand in Competition with *those* that oppose you. This is no *unprofitable Knowledge*, and may be received by the *greatest and most enlarged Genius*, such as *yours* is justly confessed to be, from a Person of the *meanest and most ordinary Capacity*, such as I am sure I have too much reason to think my own.

Give me leave then to congratulate the *Promotion* of all those, whom his Majesty hath been pleased to call his

Councils, and particularly your Advancement to the Head of the Treasury, in the Name of the Majority, and of the best and honestest Part of the Nation. For, believe me Sir, they have an entire Confidence, that, as by your exact knowledge of the Nature of the publick Revenue, you will be enabled; so by your Care and indefatigable Industry and Zeal for his Majesty's Service, and the Good and Ease of your Country, you will endeavour to Rescue and Retrieve it from that Confusion and miserable Condition it was left in by the Earl of O--f--d, who, if he did not now stand charged by the Commons of Great-Britain for High Treason, and almost all other high Crimes and Misdemeanors against the State, he would, in the Judgment of any Man, that wishes well to his Country, or understands the Interest of it, deserve an Impeachment for his scandalous Neglect in the Office of Lord Treasurer; which (tho' a Post in its Nature of the greatest Fatigue and Multiplicity of Business, as well as of the greatest Honour and Power of any in the Kingdom) he never thought fit to Execute, but in an hurry, or when he was drunk,

drunk, seldom attending his Duty above an *Hour* in a Day, which was always the most *unseasonable* he could choose. And then his Manner of doing Business was, to *shuffle* it off for the present, and to refer all *Petitions* and *Demands* that were immediately within his own Province, and which he only could determine, to the *Commissioners of other Offices*, who could do nothing in them; but being *subordinate to the Treasury*, and *Tools of his own making*, they were to spend Time in puzzling themselves, and the People, whose Affairs were referred to them. All which was to end in making a *Report* to his Lordship, that they had *examined the Matter*, but could do nothing in it; and therefore *humbly submitted* the whole to his *greater and more profound Wisdom*. Thus he *dishonoured* the Trust her late Majesty had reposed in him, and gratified a *crooked, perverse and villainous Temper*, in obstructing *Justice* he knew not how to *distribute*, and in oppressing those he ought to have relieved, as well for his own *private Ease*, as for the *publick Service*. But I forbear attempting *this Man's Character*;

racter ; because it hath been so often described, and is so well known to all the Nation, and especially to *you*, that it would be but wasting your Time to dwell upon it. I shall only say, that I believe you, who have had the best Opportunity (by being *Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy*) of examining into his Actions, can hardly determine whether *the Fool* or *the Knave* hath the greater Share in his Composition, or whether he is more to be despised, as a *weak Minister*, or hated as a *wicked one*.

But, Sir, as I was saying, we have no doubt but that we shall soon see the happy Effects of *your Management of the Treasury*. And nothing can be more reasonably grounded than these our *Expectations* are. For you have the united Talents of *two very great Men*, your *Predecessors*, the late *Earls of Godolphin and Halifax*, whose *Memories* will be ever esteemed by all true Lovers of their Country, and whose *Loss* could only be repaired by a *Genius* like *yours* : You have the *Vivacity* and *fine Parts* of the one, and the *deep Judgment* and *Penetrati-*

on of the other. From whence, I say,
 we have no doubt, but that we
 shall see the *Money-Affair* of this King-
 dom (on which you know all others
 depend) settled in a *just and regular*
Oeconomy. We shall see the ancient
 and excellent Method of the *Exche-*
quer restored, and pursued in all its
Parts and Forms. You will do Ju-
 stice, and give *Dispatch,* to those who
 have *generously trusted the Publick in*
Times of Danger and Difficulty; you
 will take care that all the *Fonds* shall
 be duly applied to the Uses for
 which they were granted by *Par-*
liament. You will, in a Word, be a
 just *Steward to your Prince,* and by
 a *due and legal Collection of the Taxes*
already granted, make them less bur-
 thensome to your Fellow-Subjects, than
 of late they have been. And since
 'tis likely there will be Occasion for
 new ones, you will contrive, that
 they shall be *such,* as do not oppress
 the Poor, and carry the Marks of Ty-
 ranny and arbitrary Power upon them:
 We shall have no *South-Sea-Trade,*
 nor other *vain Chimera's* invented to
 draw Money out of Mens Pockets.
 But you will propose good and sub-
 stantial

stantial Fonds, which will answer Interest, and encourage his Majesty's loyal Subjects to make Loans upon them. From others, you expect nothing but Clamour and Opposition. For, no doubt, when the Parliament meets to do Business, and his Majesty shall be forced to ask for more Supplies than he is willing to lay on his People; You will be told by the *Male-Contents in the House*, that an Increase of Taxes will be grievous to the Nation, and that it is an hard Demand in his Majesty, considering the Debts we lie under. All which would be sure abstracted from our present Circumstances. But honest Men will consider them, and not be afraid of giving their Votes cheerfully for granting what Supplies his Majesty shall judge proper to ask, and will choose rather to give a small Part of their, and their Fellow-Subjects Estates, for the Security of their Religion and Liberty, than to lose the whole, and be over-run with Popery and Slavery. They will impute the Hardship (if there be any) to those wicked Men, who, by their Treason and Rebellion, have caused the Necessity

sity of them, and on whom only it would be just, if the thing were practicable, to levy them. A Treasury so managed, will soon restore Credit, and make Trade flourish, and vindicate the Honour of the Nation.

I am sensible that you, and those other great and worthy Patriots, who now compose *his Majesty's Ministry*, and are placed in *high Stations* and *Offices* about him, will find more Difficulty in the Execution of your *respective Trusts*, in these *Times of Commotions and Tumults*, than you would otherwise do. But the same Understanding and Spirit, which gave you Ability and Resolution to defeat *the Authors of them*, when they were in the *midst of their Authority*, and carrying on *their Persecutions against you*, and those of your Principles, will make it easie for you to do your Part in suppressing them, now they are in a *State of Despair*, and acting with all the Folly, Rage, and Madness, that Men in *that Condition*, and instigated by the Spirit of Rebellion, can be guilty of. And by what we have already seen of the

Conduct of the rest of the present Ministry, not only in the Execution of their several Offices, but in their excellent Administration in general, we assure our selves, that nothing will be too difficult, or hard, for your united Courage and Wisdom.

I know there are not a few, who make it their Business to asperse your Administrations, and to raise Clamours against some Steps you have taken, viz. The enlarging the Number of Forces, the suspending the Act of Habeas Corpus, the imprisoning several Gentlemen without bringing them to Trial, and the calling over Foreign Troops. But as popular as this Cry is, if any one considers the Circumstances the Nation was in when these things were done, and what has happened since, he must own you could not avoid doing them, without betraying his Majesty to his Enemies, and exposing the Kingdom to an Invasion; which will appear fully by an impartial Examination of the Behaviour and Practices of the Tories since his Majesty's Accession to the Throne.

When

When it pleased God, after suffering these Kingdoms to be afflicted with a *Four Years arbitrary and illegal Administration*, to place his Majesty on the Throne, in *Compassion* to us; You may remember *the poor and vile Part the Tories* acted, and how soon they forgot *their Royal Mistress*, in whose Life, they pretended so lately, that their and the World's Happiness was bound up. For no sooner was She dead, and the *Parliament* thereupon assembled; but they had their Consultations and Cabals, how to continue *themselves in Authority*. The *Methods* proposed, and taken, were to try if they could outdo *the Whigs* in Complaisance, and dutiful and loyal Expressions to *King GEORGE*. All their *Speakers* introduced *their Speeches* with *Encomiums* of his Majesty's *personal Virtues*, and with Declarations of their Loyalty and firm Adherence to *his Interest*, against *all Pretenders whatsoever*. When *the present Speaker* (to his Honour be it said) proposed settling the *old Civil List Fonds* on his Majesty for Life, they were so far

from opposing *the Motion*, that *some of them* openly declared, they thought the Dignity of the Crown could not be supported without adding more Fonds, and making up the Revenue *a Million a Year*. When you proposed paying *the Arrears* due to *the Hanover Troops* in the *British Service*, *those very Men*, who had but a Month before the *Queen's Death* inveighed bitterly against the *same Motion*, were the *forwardest* in desiring that *Justice* might be done to his Majesty in *that particular*, and blushed not to unsay what they had before affirmed. They likewise came readily into *the Clause* for setting *an Hundred Thousand Pounds* on the Head of *their Pretender*. Those who were in *any Offices*, that gave them the least Pretence of writing to *his Majesty*, sent *submissive Letters*, with all the Assurances imaginable of their *Duty, Loyalty*, and *God knows what*. Lord Mar himself was one of the *earliest of them*; *His Letter* is very well exposed by Sir *Richard Steele*, and may serve for an Instance of the *Sincerity and Truth* with which *the rest* dealt with his Majesty, and how
much

much they were to be *depended upon*, and how well they deserved *his Favour*. They payed *servile Visits* and *Levees* to *his Ministers* here, whom, in the *Queen's Time*, they had *banned* from the *Court*, and treated in a most *inhumane Manner*, for obeying his *Master*, and presenting a *Memorial* against the *scandalous Peace* they were making.

So they behaved, till *his Majesty's arrival in England*. But when they perceived, he scorned and despised their *Insincerity* and *Diffimulation*; and resolved to *prefer* and *employ* only those, who had in the *worst of Times* asserted his *Interest*, and avowed their Zeal for the *Liberty of their Country* and the *Protestant Religion*. When they saw he had actually called you, and other great and honourable Persons (whose *Characters* I shall take the *Liberty of attempting by and by*) to his *Councils*, and advanced you to the *Stations* you so well deserved, then they threw off the *Mask* all at once, and appeared in their *proper Colours*, resolving to *disturb*, and, if possible, to *destroy* that Government they could not share in. They
be-

began to *change their Note*, to talk as *disrespectfully*, as they durst, of *the King*, to whom they had so lately and so greedily *Sworn*; to insinuate favourable things of *the Pretender*, whom they had so often and so solemnly *abjured*; and, in short, to prepare the way for bringing in *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Power*, into their *native Country*, which, on *his Majesty's Accession* to the *Throne*, had so certain a *Prospect* of enjoying as full a *Measure of Happiness*, as any Nation in any Age had been blessed with.

No Prince was ever received into his Kingdoms with *louder Demonstrations of Joy*, than *his Majesty* was by *all his Subjects*, except only *some few*, whom he was forced to *Discountenance*, for the sake of *that Liberty* and *that Religion* he was come to *Protect*. The *generality of the People* were transported with the *Pleasures* they had, in seeing a *numerous Royal Family* of the *Protestant Religion* planted amongst them. *These Men* therefore found it necessary (before they cou'd put the *Schemes* they were forming in *Motion*, and make them appear *practicable* to *their Friends abroad*) to alter this good
Opi-

Opinion the People had conceived of the Government, to turn their *present Satisfaction* into *Murmurs* and *Complaints*, and to raise *Commotions*. To effect which, they sent their *Emissaries* and *Incendiaries* into the *several Counties* of the Kingdom, (into some, on my *own Knowledge*) to spread *false Reports*, and to cast *villanous Reflections* on the Government, and to mislead and poyson the Minds of the People. They ordered their *High-flying Passive Obedience Clergy*, the *Sacheverell's*, the *Wetton's*, and *Boutefeus* of the Church, to preach *Resistance* and *Rebellion*. But that which they laboured most, was the publishing every Day some *scurrilous Ballad*, *Lampoon* or *Pamphlet*, which were levelled not only against the *Ministry*, but against the *Person of the King* and the *Royal Family*. The *Press* so swarmed with them, that, in less than *Three Months*, some *Hundreds* were dispersed through the Kingdom : Of which *none* was more *Insolent* and more stuffed with *Treason*, than the *Libel*, intituled, *Advice to Free-holders*, except *Lesly's Letters*, which have gone a *stretch* further, and undertaken to represent the *Pretender*, as a Person of
wonder-

wonderful Accomplishments, of Heroick Courage, and deep Understanding; when all the World knows, and some of his Adherents confess and lament, that he is the very Reverse, a poor, mean-spirited, despicable Thing, and little better than a Coward and an Idiot. A proper Idol for the Party, who are sacrificing themselves to him. But if he was all this Rebel-Priest would have him to be, what is a spurious Issue, and a Popish Outlaw to us?

However, in spite of all their *Advices, Artifices, and Lies*, there continued so much *Virtue* in the *Majority of the Nation*, that (on his Majesty's issuing *Writs for calling a New Parliament*) there was a good *House of Commons* returned. *Three Parts in Four of the Members* were true *Friends to his Majesty, and the Constitution*.

But so *Industrious* were these *Parra-cides* in their *wicked Purposes* and *unnatural Attempts*, that it was not long before they had *seduced some poor ignorant Wretches*, and stirred up *Riots and Tumults* in many Places, and had the

the hellish Pleasure to see things tending a little towards Confusion.

At this Time their *Darling*, the late Lord *B-l-gb-ke*, apprehending the Justice of the *new Chosen Parliament*, thought of securing his *Retreat*, and flying into *France*. They embraced the *Occasion*, made him their *Ambassador* to the *Pretender*, and gave him full Powers to *Recognize* the *abjured Out-Law*, as their *Lawful Sovereign*: He was to magnify the *Commotions* here, and to assure him of *Success*, if he would *In-vade* these Kingdoms. He was to *Negotiate* with the *King of France* to assist in (what they impudently called) a *Restoration*, and you know his *Negotiations* on that *Subject* went too successfully on, during that *Prince's Life*, notwithstanding he had, by the *Treaty at Utrecht*, bound himself to banish the *Pretender* out of his *Dominions*, and never to assist him in his false *Claims* to these *Nations*; which shews plainly, that there were some *secret Articles* in that *scandalous Treaty*, which were probably settled betwixt that *King* and this *Gentleman*, when he was sent to *Versails*, during the *Transaction* of the *Peace*; and which,

if *Providence* had not *prevented*, were to take Place in *due Time*.

Whilst he was acting *this Part Abroad*, the *Faction* here carried on Correspondencies with him, and were doing all they could *here* to distress and overthrow the Government. Their *Leaders in the House of Commons* were now grown hardened, and were not ashamed to contradict in a *succeeding Session*, what they had contended for in a former. They therefore disputed all *reasonable Demands* for the necessary Support of the Kingdom. They were pleased, when it was moved to make the *Civil List Fonds* good only, (what King *William* and Queen *Anne* had) *Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year*, (for, being charged with the *Queen's Debts*, they did not near answer *that Sum*) to forget that they had, in the *short Session* before, proposed a *Million*, and had the Impudence to affirm to us, that *Four Hundred Thousand Pounds Yearly* was more than enough to Maintain all the Expences necessary for the *Honour and Dignity of the Crown*, tho' the *Prince of Wales* wanted an *Establishment* for his Family; and those,
who

who were able to *ſpeak*, contended in a moſt violent and indecent Manner againſt it. They oppoſed the *Articles of Impeachment*, and juſtified all the late *Ministry* had done.

The *Causes* and *Grounds* of theſe *Proceedings* were obſerved and well underſtood by thoſe who were of the *Helm* here, and the *Transactions Abroad* were as carefully watched there. At length *Matters* grew to an Head, and the *Pretender* began to entertain Thoughts of an *Invaſion*. His Majesty, who had conſtant *Intelligence* of every thing, acquainted the *Parliament* with the *State of Affairs*. Whereupon the *Augmentation of the Forces*, and the *Suſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act*, were thought abſolutely neceſſary for the publick *Safety*. However, their *Leaders in our Houſe* (who, as I ſaid before, had undertaken to *oppose* every thing that was offered for the Service of the Government,) and had the *Aſſurance* to talk warmly of the *Breach of our Liberties*, of the *Miſeries of ſtanding Armies*; and to affirm, that his Majesty's ſolemn *Meſſage* was only a *Trick of the Ministry*, to make

themselves *Absolute*; though they were not only *Privy* to what was *attempting* Abroad, and had given *Encouragement* to all; but were at this very Time sending the late Duke of O--m--d after their Lord B--l--gb--ke, in order to put himself at the Head of the Invasion, which no doubt had been *attempted* on his arrival in *France*, if the *French King* had not died. For *Lord Mar* (not hearing of that King's Death) just then commenced his *Insurrection in Scotland*; and 'tis natural to believe, that *the Rebellion* was to be carried on in both Kingdoms at the same Time, and in the same Manner.

You know this, and a great deal more, to be true. And the *open Rebellion* now on Foot, stops the Mouths of *those*, who (that they might be the less observed, and go on the more securely in their *destructive Designs*) had so long and so positively denied every thing. I should not have stated the *Facts* so particularly, but that I think it is the best Account can be given of the wise *Precautions*
of

of the *Ministry*, and the best Answer to the unreasonable and scandalous Complaints of *their Enemies*. I assure you, *the Country* bleſs your Councils, for doing what you have done. They are convinced, that the *Measures taken* were the only Measures that could effectually prevent the *Mischiefs* which were *hatching*, and restrain the *Madness* and *Impiety* of those, who were labouring to involve their native Country in a *Civil War*; of all Evils, which can happen to any State, the worst.

If there has been any *Fault* in the *Ministry*, it is their *Clemency* in apprehending so very few, when they know there are so many concerned in the present *Conspiracy* and horrid *Association* against the best and mildest of *Princes*. For let them assign any one Step that his Majesty hath taken towards the *Infringement* of the settled and legal *Constitution in Church or State*, as their *indefeasible hereditary Right Princes* always did; and then I will agree, that they have some *Plea* for their *Treason* and *Rebellion*. But since they cannot alledge any one Instance of this kind,
and

and must acknowledge that he is doing all that a good Prince can, for preserving the *Rights and Liberties of both*; It is no hard Censure to say, they ought to have the Curses of the *true Lovers of Great Britain*, and that they all deserve the Fate *some of them* have already met with at *Preston*, and at *Dumblain*.

And it cannot but be a great Satisfaction to *his Majesty*, and *those who have the Honour to serve him*, to see the zealous Representations of the *Bishops and Clergy* against their *unchristian Proceedings*, and the *Courage and Resolution* of the *Nobility and Gentry*, who are every where, in their *respective Counties*, exerting themselves, and making *voluntary Associations* to defend his Majesty.

But the Happiness we enjoy, and the Security we may depend upon, will better appear by a *particular View* of the *personal Qualifications* of the *present Ministry*, than by a *general State* of their *Administration*. Thus then they stand in the Opinion, and Esteem of the World.

The

The *Duke of Marlborough* must be owned, by his *bitterest Enemies* and *Persecutors*, to be one of the most consummate *Generals and Statesmen* of this Age. He hath convinced all Mankind, that he is *the first*, by his *unparalleled Conduct*, and *glorious and repeated Victories* in the *late War*. He hath shewn himself to be *the Second*, by his *happy Negotiations* with almost all the *Courts and States in Europe*, whose *Policies and Interests* he perfectly understands. Nor has he less Knowledge of the Temper, Disposition, and Genius of his *own Country*. He hath seen the *Workings, Intrigues, and Principles of both Parties*, and hath placed himself at the Head of *that* which he found acted on Notions most agreeable to the Dignity of humane Nature, and the true Ends of Government. No Man was ever better qualified to serve his Prince and Country, and no Man ever had the Happiness to serve them both in a greater Degree than he has done, which would have made any Nation, but *ours*, proud, that so great a *Personage* had been amongst them, and which, in Spight of En-

Envy and Ingratitude, will convey his *Name* with Lustre to Posterity.

The *Earl of Nottingham* was once the *Idol of the Tories*, and extolled to the Skies by them for his *eminent Abilities*. No doubt he was *the Ornament of their Party*, and was allowed, even by *those*, who had not the Happiness and Honour to act with him, to be a Person of *universal Abilities*, and to be perfectly skilled in the *Constitution* of his *own Country*, and deeply read in the *Laws* of *other Nations*. But as soon as he found the *late Ministry* were entering into *Measures*, that would necessarily introduce *Popery and arbitrary Power*, he declared not only against *them* personally, but against all the *Tories*, that should concur with them ; and imployed all his *Talents*, especially that *distinguished Eloquence*, which is inherent to his *Family*, in exposing their *destructive Proceedings*, and laying open the Villany of the Peace, which they were then clandestinely and meanly carrying on. This *noble Stand*, as it was the *Result* of a steady, *immoveable Virtue*, so it ought to be remembred to his *eternal Honour*

nour, and especially when it is known, that (if he had not preferred the *publick Welfare* to his own *private Advantage*) he was at this Time *offered* every thing. But he rejected all their *Sollicitations* and *Offers* with Scorn, and laughed at the *Calumnies* and *Aspersions* they endeavoured to cast upon him, when he had rejected them. What is said of this noble Lord, is, in a great Measure, due to his Brother the *Earl of Ailsford*.

There needs no other Proof of *Lord Cowper's* Abilities, than that he was made *Lord High Chancellor*, and a Peer of *Great Britain*, for his early Eminence in Practice and Learning, when he was but *Forty Years* of Age. He continues to discharge *his high Trust* with that universal Reputation he at first undertook it; and certainly Justice was never more equally administred. He delivers his *Decrees* with that Address and obliging Manner, with that Care and Condescension to explain the Reason and Equity on which they are grounded, that (I am told by some of the *chief Practisers* at his Bar) few depart from his Court, even those, a-

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gainst whom he determines, without entire Satisfaction, at least without Conviction, that he had done what became an *upright* and *able Judge*. He shew'd his *Contempt of Money*, when he first accepted the Great Seal, by a generous Refusal of the *customary New-Year's Gifts* from the Lawyers, which amounted Annually to a *considerable Sum*, and which had been constantly expected, and greedily received, for many Ages, by his *Predecessors*. He not only understands the whole Science and Mystery of the Law, but hath a clear Conception of the whole Frame and Policy of our Government, as appears by his *fine way of Debating* in the House of Lords.

The *Duke of Argyle* is a most accomplished Gentleman. Tho' but young, he hath had great Experience in all kinds of Business, and is a Master of it at an Age, when others of his Birth and Rank only begin to think of turning their Thoughts that way. He is happy in extraordinary natural Endowments, in a quick Apprehension, a lively Imagination, a solid Judgment, a Grandeur of Soul, and an undaunted Cou-

Courage, which equally qualifie him for the *Camp* and the *Cabinet*. His Appearances, till the *last Session*, had been chiefly in the *military Way*; but then he convinced his Opponents, that he could *debate*, as well as *fight*; that his *good Sense* and *Sprightliness of Understanding* in the *House of Lords*, or at the *Council-Board*, were not inferior to his *Activity* and *Bravery* in the *Field*. In his private Capacity, he is a strict Observer of his Word, and a fast Friend, where he professes Friendship; which procures him the Love and Esteem of those who have the Honour to know him, and occasion to make use of his Interest. Nothing can add to his Character; but the Conduct he is shewing in *Scotland*, and the Glory he will reap by confounding the *audacious Attempts* of the *Rebels* there; which must further endear him to his Prince and his Country, and increase his Fame and Reputation.

The *Earl of Islay's bleeding Wounds* are a *fresh Instance* of his ardent Love and *unbounded Zeal* for his Country, and a *new Proof*, that he is in *Valour*, as in every thing else, a *Brother* to

the *Duke of Argyle*, and of the *Blood of Campbell*, which has made so many noble *Struggles* for keeping *Tyranny* out of *Scotland*, and rescuing the *Constitution* of that Kingdom out of the Hands of its *Oppressors*.

The *Earl of Sunderland's* firm Adherence to the *Principles of the Revolution*, and Zeal against *Popery* and *Slavery*. His constant Opposition to *Harley's wicked Designs*, and his Success in forcing him once out of the late *Queen's Councils*, (tho' She afterwards returned to her *Potion*, and a bitter one it was) justly entitle him to his *Majesty's Favour*, and a Seat in the Ministry, not only for his own Sake, but for the *publick Service*.

The *Earl of Oxford's* long Experience in *Maritime Affairs*, and the many signal *Victories* he got at Sea, in the Time of *King William*, make every true Englishman rejoice, that his present Majesty King *George* hath put the chief Direction of the *Admiralty* into his Hands.

Lord

Lord Townshend shewed his Qualifications for the *important Post* he is now in, when he was *Plenipotentiary in Holland*, and negotiated the *Treaty of Barrier*; for which, to his Glory I mention it, he was censured by the late Ministry, and their slavish Parliament, who meant to expose *England* to the Invasion we now see carried on, and for which he deserves the Applause and Thanks of all good Men, who mean better things to their Country. For by this Treaty he not only provided against a Danger which he foresaw would some Time or other happen, and which is now happened, but he fixed a perpetual Amity with our best and most natural Allies, the States General; as they are like us a free People, and of the Protestant Perswasion. He acquired so great a Reputation during his Residence in *Holland*, by his Dexterity in Business, and his Zeal for the Protestant Interest in *Europe*, that he cultivated a very great Friendship, and kept up a strict Correspondence from the Time of his being displaced by the late Queen, to his Majesty's Accession, with the chief Ministers there; which,

I suppose, was the Reason he chose the Northern Province when he was made Secretary of State; and the ready compliance of the *Dutch* with the *Terms* and *Conditions* of his *Treaty*, shews that he hath executed *that Province* with the *Success* which was expected from him. He so entirely dedicates himself to the Business of *his Office*, (which, in this *extraordinary Juncture*, is *double*, both *at Home* and *Abroad*, to what it would otherwise be) that it is not easy to say, whether his *Capacity*, or *Industry* in his *Dispatches* of all Kinds, is the more conspicuous: But certain it is, that in this *grand Crisis*, the Publick hourly receives the Benefit of both.

As the *Northern Province* was allotted to *Lord Townshend*, for his Knowledge of the *Dutch Affairs*; so the *Southern Province* was put under the Care of *Mr. Stanhope*, for his exquisite Knowledge of the Genius, and Temper, and Policy of the *Spanish Court* and Nation. His Qualifications for this, or any other Post in the Ministry, no Man can dispute. His Accomplishments and Virtues are unquestioned. He hath the
Ad-

Advantage of very great natural Parts,
 and of universal Learning. There are
 few Gentlemen who have applyed them-
 selves so much to the Knowledge of
Men, and *publick Affairs*, as he has
 done, that have had Leisure and Inclination
 to acquaint themselves so thoroughly
 and perfectly with *Books* of all
 sorts of polite and useful Learning, and
 with the *Antient*, as well as *Modern*
Languages. These *Advantages* enabled
 him formerly to discharge many *great*
Employments, *Civil* and *Military*, with
 Reputation to himself, and Service to
 his Country. And these *Advantages*
 enable him *now* to be as eminently use-
 ful to his Majesty, and as great a Mi-
 nister, as any he hath about him. But
those Principles of Honour, Truth, and
Justice, by which he directs himself,
 and which he observes to a Nicety in
 all his Dealings with Mankind, are
 more Valuable, and of truer Esteem in
 the Eyes of good Men, than even his
great Abilities and Qualifications. He
 is a warm, vigorous, and affecting
 Speaker in the *House of Commons*, and
 a thoughtful, composed and judicious
 Councillor in the *Cabinet*: He hath
 that true Spirit of a *Patriot* in him,
 that

that (I believe from my Conscience) he prefers the Preservation of the Liberties of Mankind, and the Defence of his Fellow Subjects from Tyranny, and arbitrary Power, to any other human Consideration whatsoever.

I must not here omit doing Justice to Mr. Compton, the *honourable Person*, who worthily fills the *Chair of our House*, and acquits himself with a Knowledge and Behaviour Superior to any who have ever sat in that Place. His *late Speech* to the Throne, which we have ordered to be inserted in our *Journals*, will be a standing Monument of his *Abilities in Speaking*; and it would be ridiculous in me to pretend to tell you how Expert and Skilful he is in all the *Duties of the Chair*, and in all the *Orders, Rules and Methods of Parliamentary Proceedings*.

Though Mr. Poultney hath not had long Experience in the House of Commons, yet he is already a *most Excellent Speaker*. He seems to imitate your *happy Manner* of arguing, and expresses himself on all Occasions and Subjects with that *Wit and Sprightliness*, with
to

so much *good Sense* and *Strength of Argument* and *justness of Observation*, that, you must give me leave to say, he is only exceeded by Mr. *Walpole*. This *Gentleman's Fortunes* are large, and so is his *Spirit*; for he serves his Majesty for the Honour of serving him, and not for the *Profit* of his *Place*, having remitted *half the Salary* belonging to him, as *Secretary of War*. 'Tis to be wished, that the same Motive induced all *Gentlemen* to accept publick Employments, whose *Circumstances* will permit it; but 'tis very reasonable, Allowances should be made to *others*, whose *Circumstances* will not. He is a Man of *Honour* and *Integrity*, and wants only Years to qualify him to be a *Minister of State*.

Mr. *Lechmere* is one of the most Eloquent and Ornamental Debaters we have. He is a Man of *excellent Parts*, and hath acquired so happy a Talent by his constant pleading at the Bar, that he is never at a loss, to manage his Arguments with the utmost Skill, and to cloath his Thoughts in the most proper Language and beautiful Expressions. He delivers himself with great Ease and Fluency, and yet with such

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Force

Force and Vigour, that one is always very much affected and influenced with what he says. By the Advantage of *his Profession*, he hath a perfect Knowledge of our *Constitution*; and by his Application to the Business of Parliament, he seems as well skilled in the *Policies of the Government*. There is no Subject he is a Stranger to, and few *Lawyers* have been able to make so shining a Figure in the House of Commons, as he has done.

Mr. *Aislaby* is a good and useful Speaker; he urges his Arguments (that are generally very close and pertinent) with great *Fire and Spirit*, which is the best way of debating in large popular *Assemblies*. He is remarkable for turning other Mens Speeches upon them, and always does it with great Wit and Sharpness.

Mr. *Boscawen's* Frankness and Zeal, in declaring on all Occasions his *honest Principles and Intentions*, merits Commendation, and justly gives him an Influence in the House. Besides, this Gentleman's great *Estate*, and Interest in the *Western Parts*, make him very Serviceable

viceable to his Majesty's Affairs at *this* *Juncture*.

But, Sir, we have not more Security from the Abilities and Virtues of the Persons, whose *Characters* I have presumed to state, just as they appear, and are recorded in the World, than from the Inabilities, Defects, and Vices of those that oppose them in their Administration; which will likewise appear, by a short View of the *Leaders* of the *Tory Faction*.

I begin with the late *Duke of O—* It is true, he is descended of a *noble and illustrious Family*, and is himself a *well-natured, easie Man*. But the two Qualities of *Courage* and *Generosity*, (the only two, I think, they talk of) which his *Party* seem to admire in him, and for which they have lifted him up as an *Idol* to the *Mob*, they will be found, if rightly examined, to have nothing extraordinary in them. As for the *First*, if it be not crowned with *Conduct*, which is always the Result of *good Sense*, (and that, I think, is what he does not much pretend to) it will never make a *Man a General*. *Cou-*

rage without *Conduct* is no more than
 is absolutely necessary in a *common*
Soldier; and if he be defective in this
 Point, he is *shot* to Death, or *cashier-*
ed with Disgrace. 'Tis a *Quality* in
 the Army, that is no great Addition to
 a Man's Character, because every one
 is supposed to have it; but the Want of
 it is, the highest Blemish; so that it is
 at best but a *negative Commendation*.
 As to the *Second*, when you consider
 how he has *squandered* a *vast Estate*,
 not less than Thirty Thousand Pounds
 a Year, in a short Time, you will a-
 gree with me, that his pretended Ge-
 nerosity has been downright Prodigal-
 ity and Profuseness. 'Tis notorious,
 that he hath suffered himself, like a
 weak and vain Man, to be *cheated* in
 the grossest Manner by his *Stewards*,
 and *devoured* by his *Servants* and *De-*
pendants. What Money came to his
 own Hands, was always scattered a-
 bout him without Judgment or Di-
 stinction. *Flatterers* and *Pimps*, and
those who assisted in his Pleasures, sha-
 red plentifully of his Bounty; but he
 never extended it to *Men of Merit*;
 they were not his Choice, he under-
 stood them not. If then he is stripped
 of

of these two *boasted Accomplishments*, what is become of this *great and glorious Idol of the Tories*? I am sure, what I say of him is from my Heart, and the exact Truth, as far as I am capable of judging and informing myself. I have no ill Will to him, but should really lament the Misfortunes he was drawn into by the late Ministry, if he was not now plunging deeper, and actually engaging in a *most unnatural and horrid Rebellion*.

The late *Lord B*——*ke* was a Man of *excellent Parts*; but the *great Opinion* he had of them, exposed him to the *grossest Flattery*, and, which is incident to vain Men, made him relish the Praises of those, whose Understandings he could not but despise. He was naturally *haughty and insolent*, but had nothing of *true Grandeur* in him; for being very defective in Point of Courage, he was forced sometimes, in the Height of his Power, to make mean and pitiful Condescensions; which was to be called Affability and *good Humour*. He was indeed of a gay, open Address, and of a pleasant sparkling Conversation, which rendered him
very

very entertaining and agreeable in Company, and made him love it so much, that the most constant Companions of his idle Hours were his chief Favourites, and his Friendships therefore could neither be *useful* nor *honourable*. When he was a *Member of the House of Commons*, and at the *Head of the Tories* there, he knew exactly well how to speak to a *Majority*, and gave every thing so agreeable a Turn, and expressed his Thoughts so happily, that he always drew Applauses from his *own Party*, and often *deceived ours*. He had a lively Imagination, a quick Apprehension, a sound Reflection, and a ready Elocution, which are Talents that cannot fail making a Man shine in *Parliament*, and by which he made many of the *scandalous Demands* of the late Ministry appear *plausible* to his *Tools and Followers*, and passed them with some sort of Grace through the House. But he was far from making the *same Figure* in his *other Stations*. For tho' he had Capacity enough for Business, he hated it; tho' he had *Learning, Language, and Address* sufficient to have made him an accomplished *Secretary of State*, he wanted the main thing, *Application*. He
was

was so entirely a *Man of Pleasure*, and so immoderate a *Debauchee*, that he would prefer an *Assignment of Whoring or Drinking*, to the most urgent *Affairs of the State*, and was oftner to be found in a *Bawdy-house* with his *Pimp B*—— or his *Chaplain* and *Lampoon-writer Dr. J*——— *S*———, than at his *Office* with *Foreign Ministers*. He wasted so much of his *Time*, and bent his *Thoughts* so much this way, that it was impossible for him (if his *Parts* had been *Ten Times* more extraordinary than they were) to have done the *Business* of a *Secretary of State* any other-wise, than a *precipitate, imperfect* Manner, which made him a very unfit Match (if he had been inclined to serve his Country) for *Monsieur de Torcy*, who was all this while labouring Night and Day in the Interest of *France*, and was a *thoughtful, crafty, subtle Negotiator*. The *Letters* copied in your *Report from the Committee of Secrecy*, are an undeniable Instance of the Truth of what I say; and surely the Man must be *Mad or Drunk*, when he writ *some of them*. As his perpetual propensity to *Lewdness*, and his indulging himself in *Pleasures* of all Kinds, and in all Excesses, incapac-

capacitated him for the *Fatigues* and *necessary Labours* of *publick Business*; so the Defect I have mentioned, forced him to decline all the *bold* and *enterprising Parts* of it, when he was in *full Authority* and a *Prime Minister*; and, if I am rightly informed, he has writ several *submissive Letters*, wherein he discovers great *Cowardice* and *Pusillanimity*, since he was safe on the *other Side of the Water*. But what he is principally to be condemned for, and for which he is justly attainted by the *Legislative Authority* as a *Traytor*, was his being the *chief Agent* in betraying *his Country* and our *Allies*, by negotiating those *vile Treaties of Peace and Commerce*, and in being one of those *hateful and detestable Councillors*, that advised the stopping the *Career*, of the *Duke of Marlborough's Victories*, which, under the Management of any other *Ministry*, would have been a means of effectually humbling *France*, and of procuring all the Advantages that could have been desired, or asked, by *Great-Britain*, for her self, or for any of her *Allies*.

The

The Earl of M——'s Character was formerly put into the best Light it would bear, by Mr. Lockhart, one of his own Creatures and Partisans : But even that Jacobite-Traiterous-Memoir-Writer confesses, that when this Lord came first to Age, he devoted himself entirely to the Whiggs and their Measures ; but not long after, for Reasons of meer Interest, he opposed them, and that with so much Art and Dissimulation, that he gained the Favour of all the Tories, and was by many of them esteemed an honest Man, and well inclined to (what he traiterously calls) the Royal Family ; certain it is, he vowed and protested so many a Time. But no sooner was it for his Interest, but he returned, like a Dog to his Vomit, and again promoted the Whig-Measures, which he had so lately opposed with the greatest Zeal imaginable. He was a very Tool, tho' very frequent, Speaker in Parliament. But his great Talent lay in the cunning Management of his Designs and Projects, in which it was hard to find him out, when he aimed to be

incognito. And thus he shewed himself to be a Man of good Sense, but bad Morals. Since this favourable Account was given of him, he hath added Perjury and Rebellion to his other Crimes, and now the Cloven Foot of this Arch-Rebel appears without Disguise. For he is in open Arms against his Lawful, and once acknowledged, Sovereign; and is depopulating, burning and ravaging his Native Country; not out of Principle and Loyalty to his Popish Pretender; but to gratify his Rebaunce and Ambition.

No body will deny, but that the D. of S—— is, what is called in the Language of the World, a *fine Gentleman*, and fit to grace and adorn a Court: But after the many double deceitful Parts he hath acted in Life, both as to his *Religion* and *Politicks*, and especially after coming into the late *pernicious and scandalous Measures*, who can call him an honest Man? What Prince can rely upon him, that means the Good of his People? Or who can say, that *his Majesty* hath not shewn his *Justice and Wisdom* in
dis-

displacing one, who had concurred in misleading his Predecessor, in betraying his Country, and oppressing his Fellow-Subjects for Four Tears together.

The D. of B———— from his first appearance in the World, (which was a great while since) hath acted on the *Tory Foot*, and been uniform in his *Political Principles*. His *Parts* were equal to the Management of the most *intricate and important Affairs*. But he was always too much addicted to his Pleasure, (which was chiefly that of *Gaming*) ever to delight much in the *fatiguing and troublesome Parts* of Business. He therefore, when *his Party* was in Play, rather chose *Posts of Honour and Grandeur*, than those that would involve him in the *Depths and Intrigues of the Ministry*: By which means he has generally kept himself out of any *Scrapes* on the *Changes* of the Administration. He is a very *proud Man*, but so *Selfish and Covetous*, that notwithstanding his *Quality*, and his *other great Advantages* over

most Men, he hath the *Mortification* neither to be *loved* nor *feared* by any Body, except his own *immediate Dependants*.

I can say nothing of the *E. of S.* but that he hath the Honour to be *impeached* for his *bungling Negotiation at Utrecht*, and for being used as a *Tool* to serve the *vile Purposes* of the *worst Ministry* that ever had the Direction of the Councils of *Great-Britain*. You have given us several *Samples* of his Understanding, and of his Skill in Correspondencies, in *those Letters* of his, which you have put into your *Report*. From whence one may learn, that there is sometimes a great deal of *Pride, Conceit* and *Vanity*, where there is neither good Sense, nor good Manners, nor any other kind of *Merit*.

The Earl of ——— was the *first Man* preferred when the present Lord O——— had seized the Government, by his *little under-hand Tricks*, and the Assistance of a *Chamber-maid*.

I know not much of *this Lord*, and I believe few do. For he hath a *stiff Formality and Reservedness*, that keeps him close, and uncommunicative to every Body. When he was in *Power*, or rather in *Post*, he discovered no Talents, except *Silence*, and a *grave Look*, and a *Decorum in Bowing*, which are good *Qualifications*, and set off a *Secretary of State*, when he has nothing else to recommend him. He was so entirely at the Beck of his *Benefactor*, Lord O——d, that he did nothing in *his Office* without *his Direction*. He was hardly trusted in very *weighty Affairs*, at least he was *tame*, or stupid, enough to suffer the late *Lord B*——— to invade his Province.

Lord ——— who is *allied* by *Marriage* to the Earl last named, was also allied to him in being a *Tool* and *Slave* to Lord O——d. Soon after the other was made *Secretary of State*, he was, to every Body's great *Surprize*, appointed *one of the Lords of the Treasury*; for his *Merits* and *Qualifications* for *Business* had been invisible

sible to all the rest of the World, except to the Man who preferred him, and perhaps his *Obscurity* and *Insufficiency* was his *Recommendation* there. But he was willing, if possible, to deserve his *unexpected Preferment*, and undertook, for a *Session* or two, to be a *Speaker*, and *Manager*. Certainly no Man was ever less qualified for such an Undertaking. For he had the most *unhappy Utterance*, and *confused way of Thinking*, I ever knew. However, by the *Weight of Power*, and the *Assistance of others*, he forced the *publick Business* through the *House of Commons* in the same *bungling Manner* his *Patron* did thro' the *House of Lords*, and so, as *Peerage* was then *prostituted*, he was created a *Peer of Great Britain*.

———— Appearance in the *House of Commons* much exceeded that he made in *Westminster-Hall*, till he came to be *Council* for that *Incendiary Sacheverell*, in which Case he acquitted himself with great *Skill* and *Success*. No Man was ever more dextrous in discerning the *Humour of the House*,
nor

nor could adapt himself more craftily and cunningly to it, and *turn a Debate*, and *work a Question* which way he pleased. He had a very *pertinent* and *weighty Manner* of Speaking, and by his Knowledge of the *Law*, had great Advantage in Matters relating to the *Constitution*, over those, who *opposed* him without the Benefit of *that Knowledge*. He executed the Office of *L. C.* with great Pains and Industry, and gave general Satisfaction in the *Determination of Causes*. But when he dealt in *State-Affairs*, which his *high Post* obliged him to, by giving him of course a *Seat in the Cabinet*; he was quite *lost*, and *out of his Depth*, being utterly ignorant of *Foreign Languages and Affairs*, which rendered it impossible for him to form any Judgment of the late *vile Negotiations*; and therefore he is never to be forgiven for putting the G— S— to them. When *Queen Anne* came to the Throne, he had the Name of a *small Estate*, but in Reality was not worth a *Groat*; and, if he had not been a *Member*, it would have been difficult for him to have secured his

his *Liberty* by his *Practice*. He thought that was a proper Time for him to *make his Fortunes*, which he had long endeavoured to do in *King William's Reign* to no purpose. He therefore applied, in the most *humble, beseeching Manner*, to the *Duke of Marlborough* and *Lord Godolphin*, and they made him *S. G.* by which *profitable Posts* he soon grew rich. But when, to the Misfortune of *their Country*, more than *their own*, they were removed from the *Queen's Councils*, the same mean Spirit, which had made him cringe to them in Power, made him, as far as he could, *insult* them out of it. He was one of the most violent *Persecutors* they and their Friends had, and so he qualified himself to be of the *late Ministry*. Considering which 'tis not *intelligible* to me, how he comes to find so much *Mercy*, who was never inclined to shew any. But I doubt not in this, as in every thing else, you have *good Reasons* for what you do.

The B. of ——— from a little
pert Master of Arts of Christ-Church,
is

is arrived at being the *Ecclesiastical General* of the Tories. His Province, I suppose, is on Occasion to lead his *black Army* into the Field, or, which is worse, to give them Dispensations for infusing *Principles of Violence* into the Minds of their Parishioners. He entirely neglects the *Duties* of his *sacred Function*, and instead of *preaching and practising* the Doctrines of *Peace and Submission*, he *preaches Rebellion*, and *practises Treason*. He is constantly engaged in *one Broil or other*, publick or private: He is either *squabbling* with his *Prebendaries at home*, about his own *Power and Jurisdiction*, or *attacking some Minister of State* in the *House of Lords*, about the *Errors of the Government*, because he has not a Share in the *Conduct* of it. *Other B.* imitate the *Modesty of their Predecessors*, and seldom trouble the House, unless where *Religion and the Church* is immediately concerned. But he is in at all; no Debate escapes him, because he thinks no Subject out of his Knowledge. He never considers what is proper and decent for a *Clegy-Man* to intermeddle in; but always utters

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what

what is agreeable to his *Pride, Insolence, and Ambition*, with which no Man was ever more plentifully endued. God hath given him *great Abilities*, but he is pleased to employ them too much in the *Service of Satan*; what else is *promoting and encouraging Riots and Tumults*, and *unhinging a settled Government*? Other *B.* think it their Duty to *promote* the Honour and Interest of the *Church*, by cultivating a good *Conscience*, and leading a *pious and re-signed Life*. But this *proud Priest* applies his whole Thoughts, and spends his whole Time, in studying the *Arts, Stratagems, and Intrigues* of the World. He thinks of nothing, but how to *advance himself* to the *highest Dignity in the Church and State*, and finding the *Door of Preferment* likely to be shut against him, as *things now stand*, he would be an Instrument of bringing in a *Popish or Mahometan Pretender*, provided he could be a *Cardinal*, or a *Mufti*, when he had contributed to place him on the *Throne*. But we despise such an *Incendiary*, whilst the *Church* is blest with a *Talbot* and a *Fleetwood*, and other *Prelates of eminent*

*gent Piety and Learning like them.
Let him be covered with Shame.*

Lord L—— is a well-bred, civil, obliging Gentleman, but naturally *indolent*, and *averse to Business*. He hath pretty good *Talents in Poetry*, the Pursuit of which is consistent with *Laziness* and *Luxury*; but *none*, that I ever heard of, in *Politicks*, which is a Scene of *Labour* and *Industry*; he was so far from producing himself in the *House of Commons*, or the *House of Lords*, that it was difficult (as I am told) to get him to attend the *greatest Debates*. How he came to engage so deeply in the *Rebellion* now on Foot, as to *deserve Imprisonment*, you, who are in the *secret of his Majesty's Affairs*, can better guess, than I can. Nor do I know what *substantial Interest* he could propose to bring out of the *Western Counties* (as it is said he undertook to do) now he hath not *one Foot of Land* there, and now most of the *Estate of his Family* is in the Hands of *Lord Carteret*, a young Nobleman of *fine Parts*, and of very great *Expectation*, and of steady *Loyalty*, and firmly attached to *his*

Majesty's Interest. All that he can pretend to is, a *personal Acquaintance* with the *Cornish Gentlemen*, and he might possibly draw in a few of them, as Sir R——d V——v——n, who is now in *Custody* for *evil Practices against the Government*, and others of the same *Stamp* and *dangerous Principles.* Some People have thought, that the *publick Assemblies*, kept last Session by that Lord's Lady, were intended as *Rendezvouses* for *Plotters*; but when one considers what sort of *Company* resorted thither, 'tis rather to be imagined they were set up for *Intrigues of another Kind.*

Mr. B—— is an *old Stager* in Parliament, and is esteemed by his *Party*, as a *pertinent, weighty Speaker.* They call him a Person of *Judgment* and *Experience*, and rely much on his *Advice* in drawing their *Questions*, and conducting their *Debates*, which may be one Reason why they so seldom succeed in them. For, though I must confess he preserves the *Dignity of the House*, by his *grave, solemn way of debating*, and never
says

says any thing *Indecent*, or that betrays a want of Judgment or Knowledge, yet he is, in my Opinion, a *flat, tedious, heavy Speaker*, that never strikes or moves his *Audience*. He is eternally *appealing to the Journals*, and quoting *Precedents*, which is a *manner of speaking*, that may amuse the *young Fellows*, that are apt to take it for *Parliamentary Learning*: Whereas I have always observed it to be the *Refuge of those Debaters*, who wanted *Invention* and *Arguments of their own*, to discuss the *Point in Question*. However, his Knowledge of, and Acquaintance with, *these Matters*, made him *fill the Chair* with *tollerable Sufficiency*. But certainly there never was so *partial a Speaker*, and so great a *Slave to a Ministry*, as he was. Whenever *they* wanted his *Help* (as they often did) to get some *scandalous Thing*, that would not bear the Light, thro' the House, he *served* them to a *Nicety*. A *poor Whigg* could not be *pointed at*, or obtain leave to speak, without standing up *Three or Four Times*, and being *Brow-beat* at last. If his own *Tories* chanced to speak
unsea-

unseasonably, or what was disagreeable to the Mind and Desire of the Ministry, they were sure to be reprimanded too, for some Irregularity or other. For this Drudgery, he was made S——y of S—— and executed that Post with the same Obsequiousness he had done the other, and went so deep into the late Measures, that, if you are not very Merciful indeed, he may yet expect to hear from the Committee of Secrecy.

Sir Th—— H——— during the late Administration, was by no means a Servant to the Court, as Mr. B—— had been; nor was he at all a violent Party-man. On the contrary, it must be said in his Commendation, that he opposed many of their scandalous Proceedings; particularly the Bill for ratifying the Treaty of Commerce with France, and by his single Opposition confounded it. But this last Session, he hath forgot his Impartiality and affected Candour, and, whatever the Secret is, hath run into all the Follies and Violences of the Party. The few Times he hath spoken,
has

has been with an *uncommon Fury*, and he was *hot* enough to *assist* Sir W—— W——b——m in defending an *insolent Reflection on the King*, which I shall mention when I name that *Gentleman's Character*. This was the more *ungrateful* in a Man, who had been *personally well used* by his *Majesty*, and is equally unaccountable in him, considering he talked *formerly* of nothing but the *House of Hanover*, and of venturing Life and Fortune for the *Protestant Succession*. He began to *speak* in the House, when he was *Young*; and his *first Appearances* were so very considerable, that *his Party* had with some Reason entertained Hopes, that he would in Time grow into a *Seymour*, or a *Musgrave*. There was no fault in *his Speeches*, except that they were too *polished* and *correct*, which, however, was not unbecoming a young, and (to do him Right) a very *modest Speaker*. He was heard with the greatest *Reverence* and *Attention* by his own Friends, and with *Decency* and *Respect* by ours. But he *continues* just were he *set out*, and his Reputation seems to decline
very

very much of late. For though *set, premeditated Discourses* are allowable in a *new Practitioner*; yet they come very unnaturally, and with an ill Grace, from an *experienced Member*, who is supposed to be able to deliver his Thoughts *pro re nata*, and to follow a *Debate* through all its *turnings and windings*, else he will never be of any Use or Consideration in *such an Assembly*: Nor is there a more *ridiculous Figure* to be conceived, than to see a *Man*, who hath sat in the *Chair of the House of Commons*, tremble whenever he ventures to rise up there, and not to dare to open his Mouth, till every thing he intends to say is first writ down in a scrap of Paper, and that conveniently lodged in the lining of his Hat, that he may every now and then peep upon the *curious Composition*, lest he should forget some *florid Expression*, or *golden Sentence*. But if such an one's Memory should serve him to *pronounce the whole* without Hesitation, and having recourse to this *ingenious Artifice*, *Repetition* is but a School-boy's Work,

Work, and very unfit for a Place of Business, and a Court of Legislature.

Sir W——m W———m is a young Gentleman, who was adopted early by the late Lord B——ke into the nearest Friendship and Alliance. So impatient was that *then* Lord to make something of him, and to qualify him for being his Fellow-Minister, that he forced him into Places of the greatest Significance before he was Six and Twenty Years Old. At that Age, he had been Secretary of War, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one may imagine how Two such very extensive Employments were discharged by a meer Boy, who was likewise to attend all the Parties of Pleasure and Revels at Greenwich, or elsewhere, that his Patron summoned him to. Sir W——m, in return for so much Fondness, made him his Example, and the Pattern of his Behaviour in the House of Commons. He endeavoured to imitate his way of speaking, and assumed the same Authority in his Deliverance. But as he performed *these* Parts very awkwardly, and insufficiently, so he was

rather *endured*, then *commended* by his own Party; and *those*, who had less Regard for him, *laughed plentifully*. However, for *want of better Choice*, they were forced to make him one of their *Leaders* and *Managers*, and this *last Session* he gained great Reputation amongst them for *reflecting* on his Majesty's *Proclamation* for *calling a new Parliament*, and for *persisting obstinately* and *ridiculously* in it when he had done; for which *he*, and *those* who supported him in his Folly, (of whom I have named one) would have been *expelled*, or sent to the *Tower*, in a *less merciful* House of Commons; and his Safety, and the *mild Censure* passed upon him, were owing (as I remember) to your *Compassion*. He was much *elevated* with the *Compliments* which were pay'd him on *this Account*, and soon began to turn his *insolent Speeches* into *treasonable Practices*, to *Cabal* and *Plot* with *those*, or *some of them*; *whose Characters* I am describing; and to correspond with *his Friend Harry*, and *others*, who were throwing themselves at the Feet of
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the *Pretender*. So he has made his Way to the *Tower*, in spite of the *Clemency of the House of Commons*. But his *Behaviour*, before he got thither, hath occasioned some Talk, and was pretty extraordinary. For I cannot imagine, why a Man should first break his *Parole* and Word of *Honour* with the *Officer*, that apprehended him, without running over to *Mar*, or making his *Escape* into *France*. Or why he should afterwards *surrender* himself, without doing anything to *deserve the King's Mercy*, as an *honest and prudent Man* ought to do. I have not yet heard it accounted for, either by *Friend* or *Foe*. Perhaps it was only the effect of a *weak, irresolute Temper*.

Mr. E—— H——— was bred a Fanatick, and is in Inclination one still: But his Brother (the gratifying whose Ambition and Villany he preferred to every thing, Religion and all) hath made him act counter to his Education and Nature, and hath imployed him in the Service of a *Popish Pretender* and arbitrary

bitrary Power. He seems better qualified to *preach* in a *Conventicle*, than to *harangue* in an *House of Commons*. For 'tis *nauseous* hearing him speak in Favour of *High Church Principles*, with that *demure, puritanical Visage* and *canting Voice* of his. And yet this Man hath the Assurance to talk of his Firmness to the Interest of his Country and the Protestant Succession.

Mr. A—— M——'s Character is as notorious as Lord O——d's, and cannot, like his, be more known, or detested, than it is. But I must name him, as he was the great *Director* and *Oracle* of the late *Ministry*, especially with relation to the *Treaties of Commerce*; and no wonder they were *such*, when they were left to the Management of one, who had raised himself from a *Foot-man* by the vilest *Arts* and most scandalous *Corruption*, that ever Man was guilty of.

Mr. F—— formerly used to busy himself in the Debates of the House,
par-

particularly those that concerned *public Money*. He affected to be thought a *Country Gentleman* and a *Patriot*, and would sometimes oppose the *Malt-Tax* to please his *Free-holders of Hertfordshire*. But being Covetous, he squinted mightily towards a Place, and took it ill that he was neither preferred nor made Speaker when the Tories were uppermost; However, no Man is less a Friend to the *present Establishment*. He was always an *Home-spun Speaker*, and at his best, never above the *Second Rate*.

Mr. W—— hath been long in the House, and intermeddled more than most of *his Profession* in the Business of it; but hath not acquired the Art of pleasing there. He seems indeed to be knowing in the Law, and where any Debate arises concerning the *Constitution*, few of *his Party* have truer Notions of it; but then he utters them so very awkwardly, and abounds so extreamly in *Tautology*, that he is insufferably tedious and disgusting to his Hearers. The
late

late Ministry not answering his *Expectations*, he followed Sir T———
H———'s Caprice and Humour in
opposing them. But this *last Session*,
he hath taken a Fancy to *defend* them,
and to be a great *Stickler* against the
Impeachments.

Mr. C——— is a very *constant* and a very *indifferent Speaker* :
But had the good Fortune, I may
call it, once, to *blunder out something*,
for which his Friends H——l——y
and H——c——t sent him to the
Tower, and for which they after-
wards thought him Worthy to suc-
ceed you in the *Office of Treas-
urer of the Navy*. A Specimen of
the *Justice and Judgment* of those
Two Men. He hath endeavoured, as I
have good Reason to believe, since
his Majesty's arrival, to have kept
that Place on any Terms, and would
have come into *any Measures* for it.
But being *rejected*, he is as deep
in the *Pretender's Interest*, and in
the *present Conspiracy*, as any *Papist*,
or *Jacobite*, of them all.

Mr.

Mr. C—— was one of those *Tools* of the late Ministry, the *Commissioners of Accounts*, whose *Merit* was to *perjure* themselves, and to forge *false Accusations* against you and the *Duke of Marlborough*, and to *bespatter* every *honest Man*, who had been in any *publick Employment* under the *Whig Administration*. But he was more particularly a *Creature* of the late *Lord B———ke's*, and, as I am told, was in the next *Degree* of *Favour* to *Sir W—— W———m*. He is not in *this House of Commons*; but the last *Parliament* he was the most *active Speaker* of that *Side*. He undertook the *Management* of all your *Elective-Causes*, and had his *Share* in every *Debate*. He did not want *Talents* to make a *Figure* in the *House*; but he always chose rather to court the *Applause* of his *Companions* and young *Fellows*, than the *Approbation* of *wise* and more *considerate Members*. This made him affect little *Turns of Wit*, and (what was intolerable) *personal Reflections*. And he grew so very *scurrilous* at last, that he every *Day* drew a *Squabble* upon him-

himself for some *rude* and *unmannerly Expression* or other. However, the *Ministry* thought him *considerable* enough for doing their *dirty Work*, if the *Queen* had lived, and the *new Schemes* had gone on, to have made him a *Commissioner of the Treasury*, and then betwixt this *little pert Trifler* and *Sir W*—— the publick Revenue would have been delicately managed. But God be thanked, *those dismal Prospects* are *vanished*, and it is under the *Direction* we have long wished to see it, and, for the *Good of the Nation*, and your own *Honour*, may it long continue there.

Mr. S—— from an *idle Temple Rake*, that, instead of *studying the Law*, spent his Time in writing *seditious Pamphlets* and *Poems*, and that hath hardly Estate enough to qualifie him to sit in the House, is become a *migh-ty Statesman*, and sets up for opposing the Ministry, and governing the Nation. Brave Work! and a noble Pitch of Impudence! He was another of the *infamous and arbitrary Commissioners of Accounts*. But, to do him right, he is

is as pointed and pertinent a Speaker, as any the Tories have. He was the *chief Champion* this last Session for the *impeached Lords*, and was the *only Man* that pretended to *enter the Lists* with you, Mr. Stanhope, and our other *Speakers*, with any tolerable *Mettle or Success*. His Abilities indeed are not *inconsiderable*, but his *Principles* are *virulent and poysonous*. He seems *ridiculously fond* of declaring himself a *Jacobite*, and an *Enemy to the Government*. For he seldom rises up, but we have some *pompous Stuff* about *successive Monarchies*, and on some Occasion, I remember, he told us plainly, *That the Crown of Great Britain was indefeasibly hereditary, and that he hoped to see it restored to its true and ancient Lustre*; for which *incautious and insolent Declaration*, he was handsomely reprov'd in an *excellent Speech* by Mr. Stanhope. But nothing hath shewn the Temper and Principles of this Man more, than what he did the other Day at the *Royal Exchange*. There had been a *Report* spread about the City, that he had *discovered a Plot*,

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which

which no Body did, or could believe, that knew *his Behaviour in Parliament*, and which, I suppose, might first be raised out of a *Jest*, or by some *Mistake*. However, he was so nettled at the least Imputation of deserting the *Pretender's Cause*, which he had so *strenuously and boldly asserted*, or of doing any Service to the present Government, that he went to the *Royal Exchange* at an Hour, when it was most crowded, and exposed himself more than an Enemy could have wished, by swaggering like a *Bravo*, amongst the *Merchants*, and posting up an *arrogant Manifesto* with his own Hand, declaring, in Effect, his firm *Adherence to Jacobitism*, at a Time when any other Man would have been glad of such an Opportunity to have renounced it. For this *Behaviour*, he deserved to have been *secured*; but tho' he hath hitherto *escaped*, let him beware he does not at last meet with the *condign Punishment* of his *rebellious Principles*. *Forbearance of Justice* is no *Acquittal*.

Sir

Sir J. P—— who has so lately been *discharged from his Confinement* by the great *Clemency of the Government*, was always an *avowed and profess'd* J——— Tho' he hath been long a *Member*, he hath been wholly negligent of the *common and ordinary Business* of the House. But he was an *occasional Speaker*, and never failed, once a Year, when the *Whiggs* had the *Ministry in their Hands*, to give us a *thundering Oration* full of *Common-Place Invectives*, and beaten and trite *Arguments* against evil *Counsellors*.

Sir W——— W——— and Mr. H——— are as *Eminent in their Way*, as any *Two Persons* I have named, and *deserve* as well from *their Party*. For they are *constant Opponents* to every thing you offer, without understanding it. The *old Gentleman*, after being educated a *Presbyterian*, and continuing a *Whigg* for *Seventy Years*, *cries No* to the *Court*, and swears for the *Church*, and is a *right special Jacobite*, and a *worthy*

Representative of the famous V—— of O——— The other, from being a little, poor, pitiful Irish Petty-fogger, and after being detected in a Thousand Knaveries in his Profession, makes a very good Tory-Patriot. He is one of those Buffoons, who have helped to sink the Dignity of your Debates. For when Matters of the highest Consequence and Moment are under Consideration, which ought to be handled with Solidity and Seriousness; such a Fellow, who cannot Argue and Reason closely, turns every thing to a Jest, and trifles away the Time of the House with impertinent Stories and ridiculous Allusions, nothing to the purpose. And yet his Party frequently vouchsafe him Hearbims for what he always ought to be reprimanded, and for what he sometimes deserves Expulsion.

There are *Three Lords, viz. the Earls of S——— and J——— and Lord D——— and several Gentlemen of the House of Commons, besides Sir W——— W——— and Sir*

Sir J. P—— viz. Sir C—— B——
 Sir W—— C—— Sir J.
 B—— Mr. H—— A—— For-
 ster, and K—— who are, or
 were ordered to be, *apprehended*. But
 I have little *Knowledge* of their Cha-
 racters, and all I can say of them
 is, that it is very unhappy the *first*,
 or at least the *chief*, Appearance they
 have made in the World, should be
 on a *Suspicion* and *Charge* of *High*
Treason. One of them has indeed
 shewn some *Remorse* for his Guilt, by
 endeavouring to *punish* himself with
 his own *Hands*. But another has car-
 ried his *Treason* into *Rebellion*, and
 was the *pretended* General of those
vile Miscreants who were *defeated*
at Preston. There are likewise a great
 many other *Persons* of *Note* and *Di-*
stinction taken into *Custody*; but they
 are generally *Papists*, or *Nonjurors*,
 and nothing better could be expe-
 cted from them.

Thus, Sir, I have gone through
 the *Characters* of those, who are gene-
 rally called, and would be esteemed,
 the *chief Managers* of the *Tory Fa-*
ction.

tion. There may be *others*, who think themselves altogether as *considerable*, and may be so. But they are either *such*, whose *personal Qualifications* I am wholly unacquainted with, and cannot therefore pretend to *describe*. Or *such*, as have not entered so furiously into all the *violent Measures* of the Party, and therefore ought not to be put into so *bad Company*.

Here are *Instances*, more than enough, of the *detestable Principles and Practices* of this Faction, and, God forbid, we should ever see it *predominant* again in *Great-Britain*. We have no Apprehension, but that the *timely and effectual Suppression* of the *present Rebellion* will prevent their ever making any such a *flagitious Attempt* for the future. And it is a *Comfort* to us, who are Friends to the Government, that our Security cannot be attributed to *Chance*, or any *accidental Discovery*, but (next to the *good Providence of God*) to the *great Care and Vigilance* of the *Ministry* at Home, and to the inde-
fati-

fatigable Industry and well-managed Intelligence of the Earl of Stair Abroad, whose successful Negotiations in France, at this Juncture, can never be too much rewarded. He hath given ample Proofs that he inherits the bright Parts of his Family, and that he is the Representative of the great Earl of Stair, and the Nephew of Sir Hugh and Sir David Dalrymple. It was to the consummate Abilities of the Father, that we, in a great Measure, owed the Union, and in that the happy Settlement of the Crown of Scotland on his Majesty King George. And it is (as I said) to the successful Negotiations of the Son, (in whom the same Abilities Survive) that we, in part, owe the Detection and Confusion of those impious Schemes which were laid to dissolve that Union, and to bring both Kingdoms to utter Ruine.

I expect, when this Letter is published, that it will be said, I have flattered one Side, and vilified the Other; and I think I should have been pardonable, if I had endeavoured to speak advantageously of those, who, I am
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convinced in my Conscience, are labouring to *serve their Country*; and if I had used some Asperity and Harshness towards those, who, I am convinced, are (as far as in them lies) labouring to *ruine it*. But I protest, I have framed the most *impartial Character* I could of every Man, on *both Sides*; and I assure you, I have taken it, not so much from my *own Knowledge* and Observation, as from the *Information* and general Sense of *others*.

18 JA 53
Sir,

I am,

Nov. 15.
1715.

Yours, &c.



